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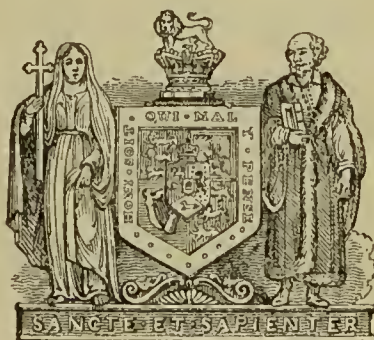
AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF

The Medical Session,

OCTOBER 1, 1832.

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P R E F A C E.

HAVING in the following Discourse adopted for the groundwork of my reasonings the idea of a National Church, or Clerisy, given by my respected friend in an Essay on “ the Constitution in Church and State according to the *Idea* ;” * and aware how scanty the circulation of this small volume has been, (it never having been noticed in any of the leading Reviews,) and to how few it is known even by name ; I could not but feel, independently of other and personal regards, that a mere reference to the title would be at once defective in what I owed to the author of that tract, and insufficient for my own purpose, namely, that of directing the readers of this Discourse to the source where they may obtain full possession of the truths on which it is grounded, and which it in part presupposes, and of thus placing them on a level with myself ; and I know not how, consistently with the limits of a prefatory advertisement, I can effect this better, than by giving the following quotations from this truly practical, no less than philosophic work :

“ It was common to all the primitive races, that in taking possession of a new country, and in the division of the land into hereditary estates among the individual

* On the Constitution of the Church and State, according to the Idea of each, &c. By S. T. Coleridge, Esq. London, 1830.

warriors and heads of families, a reserve should be made for the nation itself. The wealth appropriated was not so entirely a property as not to remain, to a certain extent, national; so neither was the wealth reserved so exclusively national as not to admit of individual tenure. It was only necessary that the mode and origin of the tenure should be different, and in antithesis, as it were. *Ex. gr.*—If the one be hereditary, the other must be elective; if the one be lineal, the other must be circulative.”

This latter, Mr. Coleridge entitles the *Nationality*; and the functionaries of the same, the *Clerisy*.

“The CLERISY of the nation, or National Church, in its primary acceptation and original intention, comprehended the learned of all denominations; the sages and professors of the law and jurisprudence; of medicine and physiology; of music; of military and civil architecture; of the physical sciences, with the mathematical as the common organ of the preceding; in short, all the so called liberal arts and sciences, the possession and application of which constitute the civilization of a country, as well as the theological. The last was indeed placed at the head of all; and of good right did it claim the precedence. But why? Because under the name of theology, or divinity, were contained the interpretation of languages; the conservation and tradition of past events; the momentous epochs and revolutions of the race and nation; the continuation of the records; logic; ethics; and the determination of ethical science, in application to the rights and duties of men in all their various relations, social and civil; and, lastly, the ground-knowledge, the *prima scientia*, as it was named, PHILOSOPHY, or the doctrine and discipline of *Ideas*.”

ADDRESS.

MR. PRINCIPAL AND GENTLEMEN,

THE honour conferred on me by my colleagues, of addressing the School of Medicine and Physiology, as their common representative, has naturally led me to seek for some object in which all the students in the medical and physiological departments, as members of this College, can be supposed to feel a common interest. And, assuming that my youthful auditors propose to themselves a scheme of studies, in order to their becoming members of a profession, I appear to myself to have found this common object, this uniting interest, in the subject of the *professional character* itself, and of the *professions* in which it has its various modifications.

Now a liberal *profession* may be *defined* as,—
The application of SCIENCE, by the actual possessors of the same, to the needs and commodities of social man. The essence of all science is in

the reason manifesting itself in the intuitions of pure sense, as in Geometry; or in the conceptions of the understanding, as in Logic and Dynamics; and in the immediate truths of Philosophy, which we may best call *ideas*. And, again, the sciences being sciences only as far as they are but various forms of one and the same spirit, living and growing branches from the same stedfast trunk,—it must needs follow that, if the reason be one in all men, and if the understanding and the pure sense be one in all men, the same unity must be found in the sciences. There are indeed many sciences, and with the increase of insight, and consequently of distinction, and with the more intimate knowledge of the objects investigated under the guidance of science, the number of sciences has increased, and will continue to increase. Still they must all retain the same inherency in, the same known and understood derivation from, the common trunk. The root, therefore, of a profession, as distinguished from an art or trade, is *science*; and, *vice versâ*, a science becomes a profession by its application to the needs and uses of man, and by availing itself of all the aids and stores of experience and observation in order to this purpose.

The *three great professions*, without which civilized society can scarcely be imagined to

exist, much less to arrive at, or retain any high degree of civilization, are the *Legal*, *Ecclesiastical*, and *Medical*, grounded on the corresponding sciences of *Jurisprudence*, *Theology*, and *Physiology*. And in the history of these professions, as they have, at different epochs of the world, evolved and matured themselves, there is presented a full and instructive illustration of the following most important principles :—First; of the necessary connexion of every profession, legitimately so named, with a science : Secondly; of the not-to-be-mistaken manifestations which science gives of its own unity in the tendency of the profession first evolved, to include in itself the others, as yet comparatively in their embryo state, and waiting, as it were, for a full evolution in a form of their own, under the name and protection of the elder sister. Thus, in certain climates, the plants are imperfectly developed in the containing seed-vessel before they drop and find a soil of their own. At the same time, it will be impossible not to trace and admire the evident guidance and pre-disposing power of a Divine Providence in the order of succession in which the professions have appeared,—not to see a great scheme and chain of Almighty wisdom in the dependency of the links; each having its own character, and occupying that place in the chain for which no other could have been a

fit substitute. Nor shall I deem either my efforts or your attention wasted, if only I should succeed in leaving on your minds a livelier sense of the natural confraternity of the professions, a clearer conviction of the bonds by which they are connected with each other; or, let me add, a more wakeful jealousy of whatever would tend to separate either from the living branch of the science of which it is the fruit and foliage, or these branches themselves from the trunk and root of the universal sciences, out of which they spring, and by whose unobstructed sap they can alone retain the characters of life and growth.

The field must be fenced, and cleared of obstructive or noxious growths, before it can be cultivated and sown, or planted for human uses: and if the man is to be brought under the *conditions* of civilization, he must first have been made a member of a community, a citizen. It is evident, therefore, that *Law*, in its largest sense, as including both legislation and the administration of laws, must have taken precedence of the other professions, and that the science of Jurisprudence must have preceded the other sciences. In Egypt, the first monarchy, the great conditions of public law seem first to have been provided, not without an especial act of Divine Providence, in the substitution of a principle of *national* unity, in that which supplies

the indispensable conditions under which alone a people can become *a nation*—namely, in a security for the continuance and continued increase of its *civilization*. And these conditions are given, this security is afforded, in the existence of a learned class, and the provisions for its maintenance. Accordingly, we find that in organizing, as it were, the lands of Egypt into a system of properties, having their source or centre in the individual representative of the whole people, the inspired minister of Pharaoh reserved the revenues of the learned class, the national Church of Egypt in its most comprehensive form, as independent and national: and in this manner were the first conditions, the materials as it were, of future sciences and of the distinct professions, arising out of their application, provided for mankind. But it is evident that in Moses the *science* of legislation first began, and that a legal profession, as grounded thereon, was first established in the institution of the *Levites*. The *Hebrew Law* was intimately connected with, was a living branch from, a special science corresponding—the science, namely, of morality, but of morality considered as a science of the relations of individuals to a community, a *science of social obligations*. And this must, of necessity, in the order of Providence, have been antecedent to the science of morals in a yet deeper

sense, as having for its subject the relations and obligations of the individual resulting from the harmony and subordination of the powers which, in each individual man, constitute and contradict his humanity. Meantime the administration of the laws, and their application in detail, were intrusted to a distinct and appointed class, the Levites, whom with truth we may regard as the *first profession*: whose several residences were determined, not by their birth-places, or by any hereditary possession, but by their functions; and whose revenues were dependent on the exercise of those functions, and yet remained inalienable and national by a primary contract. But most observable it is, that as long as the life of the science remained in the profession, the unity of the universal science manifested itself; the law, and the legal profession as its outward form, contained and comprehended whatever was known and, in those times, capable of development, in both the other professions. The Levites were not only the guardians of the ark, and the ministers of the municipal and domestic religion of the state; they were entrusted likewise with the medical police, and were the inspectors of the public health.

The same proof of my position is supplied equally in the annals of Greece and of Rome. The great names that appear in the dawn of the

historical age are those of the great legislators, Minos, Zamolxis, Lycurgus, Solon; the first great products of human wisdom were codes of law; and for ages, in Rome at least, the only liberal profession, which the free and noble were honoured in exercising, and the exercise of which constituted a species of nobility, was that of the *law*. And so it continued as long as the law remained a living science, even to the times of Trajan; and when I affirm that the Roman law, which had embodied in itself all the ideas of genial Greece, and organized them into a mighty engine of civilization,—when I affirm that this system, as far as it is preserved for us in the so called Theodosian Code, presents the most perfect form of embodied science, in all that constitutes the beauty as well as the strict dependency and connexion of a science, I speak in the presence of men better able to appreciate the truth of my words than I myself can pretend to be. But when, in the progress of corruption and degeneracy, the great institutes of the great lawyers, from Paulus to Ulpian, were overwhelmed with the weeds of imperial edicts,—the supports of insane despotism,—and the caprices of individual will, the legal profession soon degenerated into a trade, the members of which were, in general, proverbially more feared than honoured.

It cannot, however, but impress a reflecting

mind with even a religious awe, that the science of Roman law had not become completed till the condition had been provided, and the necessity arisen, felt, and made evident, of a new science, calling forth another professional class. The essential character of man, his humanity, had been provided for in the ideal form of the state, in order that the individuals partaking thereof might act and work as men. Accordingly, the *science of legislation*, and the *legal profession*, as its living organ, was the first born and the first matured, and with it the excellences that sprung up under its protection, and ripened beneath its fostering influences,—*Architecture*, with all the sister *fine arts* in its train, and with these again the *moral virtues* and *interests of patriotism*, and reverential local attachments. Thus legislation brought discipline, and the habit of relative duties and functions; these again gave the energy of cohesion to the individual citizens, and the powers of a machine to the state. But what were the results which the history of Rome records? Conquest; thirst of power; difference of conditions, not only beyond the demands of a healthful subordination, but finally incompatible with and subversive of it; wealth, with pauperism, the gigantic shadow which wealth casts in the setting sun of a declining state; then turbulence, sedition, contempt of the past, presumptuous

ignorance ; and, finally, a crazed and dislocated body, clumsily compressed within the iron hoops of military despotism ;—such is the history of the Roman republic. A mightier power, a more inward and penetrating spirit than even the spirit of law, was required :—a power was required which not only, like that of the law, acted *from without*, and *on* the individual, but which acted primarily and principally *in* the individual and *from within*. Such were the conditions : and it is but another proof of a special providence in the order of the professions, that these conditions were given and realized in the dispensation of the *Gospel*, and in the chain of providences by which its light was diffused, and its influences collected in the re-irradiating foci of its widely scattered and increasing churches. But no less, at the same time, both during this process and preparatory to it, was the necessity felt. With the spirit of free law, and of freedom as the emanation of law, the patriotic spirit had likewise departed ; and with patriotism, with the co-existence of independent states, with the sense of nationality, all the influences of local and national religions likewise departed, or remained but as the stains of a phosphorous-drawn image beheld in daylight. What was the Jupiter of the Capitol, with all his local and traditionary legends, to the worshipper of Thor and Woden ?—what the Apollo, who, by partial

earthquake and rocks precipitated with thunders and lightnings, had scared the Gauls from the Delphic mountain, to the Syrian worshipper of Astartè, or the Egyptian adorers of the brutish deities of the Nile ?

“ The oracles were dumb :
 No voice, or hideous hum,
 Ran through the arched roof in words deceiving.
 Apollo, from his shrine,
 Could no more divine,
 With hollow shriek the steep of Delphos leaving.”

But with the nature and sublime character of this great revolution, to which the anterior history of the civilized world, and the science and profession of law as its civilizing spirit, was but a preparation, and to which, as to a predetermined centre of Providence, all the events of history, from north and south, from east and west, had, in awful march, been converging,—with Christianity, as the universal and mundane religion, my subject has no other connexion, than as it involves a *new profession* grounded on a science then first made real and outward. And it is evident that I here refer to the *ecclesiastical profession*, and to the correspondent science of *metaphysics* and *ethics*. But let me not be misunderstood ; I am speaking of the profession as grounded exclusively on a correspondent science, independent of that higher light which must ever distinguish the ecclesiastical from the other

professions under a christian dispensation. It is of the ecclesiastical order, simply *as a* profession ; not of it, as an organ of revelation, nor even as proposing for its object the preparation of the man for another world. I would speak of it exclusively in its unity of end with the professions generally, all having for their common object the maintenance of progressive civilization, without which no temporal state can be either permanent or progressive ; the ecclesiastic, however, specially proposing to itself the cultivation of the inward man as the individual, the integral humanity in the man, his integrity, in distinction from, though not in separation from, his relations as a fractional part of the state and his duties as a citizen. In this sense it may be asserted that under the science of theology, metaphysical and ethical, were comprised, throughout the era in which it was the dominant and premier influence, all the main aids, instruments, and materials of national education, that is, of whatever educes or calls forth the latent man in the natives of the soil, and trains them up to citizens of the country.

No one can have a livelier sense than I have of the practical evils that accompanied the ever-increasing disposition of the sacred profession to exchange the oracles of inspiration for schemes or systems deduced, or supposed to be deduced, from Plato and from Aristotle. "Too soon," says

a contemporary, "did the doctors of the Church forget that the heart, the moral nature, was the beginning and the end of their religion; and that truth, knowledge, and insight, were comprehended in its expansion. Too soon, alas! in council and synod, the divine humanities of the Gospel gave way to speculative systems; and, under the name of theology, religion became a science of shadows, or at best a bare skeleton of truth, without life or interest for the majority of mankind, for whom therefore there remained only rites and ceremonies, spectacles, shows, and semblances." But the fullest persuasion of this truth ought not to blind us to the mighty services which the Jeromes, Nazianzens, Augustines of the Eastern and Western Empire, and which the schoolmen and their predecessors in the middle ages, and during the whole process of the settlement and civilization of the feudal states, had effected,—the former, in retarding the incursions of barbarism, in counter-acting and, as it were, diluting the thick darkness spreading over the civilized world; and the latter, in casting the common mould for all the languages of Europe in all their forms of connexion, and sequences of thought. Nor let it be forgotten that the scholastic studies prepared the way for the *Reformation*, and armed the first reformers with their most effective controversial weapons; and that, in the two centu-

ries in which the *science* of theology and ethics reached its highest hitherto-attained perfection, while, at the same time, the *Scriptures* were most successfully and energetically worked as the great lever of general civilization and improved morals, the profession, grounded on this science, consisted of men whose minds and habits had been reared or formed under the scholastic discipline.

Such, then, was the *ecclesiastical profession*; and throughout the epoch of its dominant influence it preserved, in its own form, the unity and spirit of science. The clergy, or clerisy, comprised in itself the learned of all denominations, maintained the vital union of all knowledges with the universal sciences, and of all, as having for their common object, the preservation, the improvement, and diffusion of all the arts and knowledges which constitute the condition, and determine in every country the degree of civilization. And in this, as in the former legislative epoch, both the other professions took the form, and, as it were, wore the livery of the leading or premier profession, that is, the *theological*. The sages and professors of the Law and Jurisprudence, of Medicine and Physiology, and even of Music and Architecture, were all alike ecclesiastics, doctors and masters of the Church.

As it has been my delight to perceive, so it has been my object to prove and display, a pre-

determined order and providence in the successive evolution of all the three professions; but this providence appears to me especially evident in the circumstances that accompanied and led to the third epoch, the evolution of the third branch as not only a distinct, but a separated profession. In the first epoch, we have found all causes working to the formation of the *citizen*; in the second, to the cultivation of the *individual* as an intellectual and spiritual being: if a *third* was to arise, it could only have for its object *the relations* both of the citizen and of the individual man, *to nature and to the complex organ of his dependence on, intercommunion with, and control over, nature*. The science, of course, must be *Physiology*, and the *profession*, or learned class, by whom that science is (as far as is permitted by the imperfection of human knowledge, and the degree of light at each particular time existing) to be applied to the needs of the community, the *medical*,—both terms, *Physiology* and *Medicine*, taken in their largest sense.

Even a slight acquaintance with the history of our profession will suffice to shew, that its full separation from the ecclesiastical followed the Reformation, or accompanied its dawn; when the increasing corruptions of the Church, the degradation of Metaphysics, and the over-estimation of Logic and Dialectic, to the eclipsing

of the light of experience in all natural knowledge, had at length led the genial minds of the age to feel the necessity of the purer light of revelation, and to reclaim for the use of mankind the sacred lamp which diffused it,—when the *Scriptures* were once more restored to their place as the foundation of religion. Then the theological profession, by virtue of this higher principle, rounded itself as it were; and in proportion as it worthily represented the Christian Church became separated, as a profession, from those of Jurisprudence and Medicine. Among the earliest effects that flowed from the acknowledgment of the higher light by which this was effected, one, and not the least important, was the removal of that extravagant over-valuation of Logic and Dialectic, by which, as by a sort of magic, all knowledge was to be obtained, of things as well as of thoughts; so that by a strange error the powers of reflection were not only to precede, but to supersede, all perception. The consequence, of course, could be no other than that the mere logical forms of verbal abstraction and generalization were substituted and passed off for the very essences and constituent causes of all things. This delusion gradually, but rapidly, disappeared;—this dense fog of human conceit thinned away, and gave admission to the light of experience, and, with it, to a perception of the

necessity of increasing that light by the right use of the *senses*. The forms of the understanding, the wondrous mechanism of words, were now applied to their legitimate purpose, that of communicating knowledge by words. But the acquirement of that knowledge, relatively to nature, was expected only from the reason acting in its two-fold form,—in the pure sense, as *Mathematical Science*; or in the application of the senses, as *experiment* and systematic *observation*, and the mutual perfecting of each by the other. About the same time, by a series of providential events, of which the most memorable are the discoveries of the *compass*, *printing*, *gunpowder*, and the powers of increased vision from the combination of *glasses*, the world of the senses itself, the sphere and region of sensible experience, was enlarged and peopled. New worlds in every direction were opened out for civilized mankind; and under these circumstances the Mathematical Sciences (cultivated by the ancient Greeks, but which had fallen into abeyance during the whole period, from the disruption of the Roman empire to the period of the Reformation,) were rendered available in a thousand directions at the time that in themselves they received almost yearly growth and expansion. Under these auspices, Physics and Physiology became *real* sciences, not disconnected from pure or

formal science, which the reason had evolved out of its intuitions, but in intimate union therewith, receiving from them form and foresight, and giving in return life and objective reality : and as a branch of Physics and Physiology, then *Medicine*, in its most comprehensive sense, arose to the dignity of a science, and the *medical*, as a distinct and legitimate *profession*.

Most true it is that doctors of Medicine existed throughout the middle ages ; and though, for the greater part, the art, such as it was, was exercised by ecclesiastics, and studied in monasteries, yet as soon as the Universities of Europe began to flourish, the teachers and prescribers of Medicine were recognized, and degrees of honour given to them under the appropriate name of *Physicians* or *Naturalists*. But no less is it true, that, during this period, the claims of the individuals to professional dignity as *Viri liberales*, *Gentlemen*, were derived from their connexion with the great seats of learning, and were grounded on their character as *men of learning* generally, and their connexion not indeed with any science truly appropriate to their vocation, but still with what were then deemed sciences, an astrological astronomy, and a half-metaphysical half-traditional herbalism and alchemy, blended with the former. Still it was on the assumption, and under the supposition of their

connexion with *Science*, and with the universal sciences as the trunk, that even then they obtained the name and rank of a Profession; but in how obscure and infirm a state, and in what equivocal estimation, a slight acquaintance with the history of medicine during the middle ages will inform us.

When Astrology had faded away before the dawn of a true Astronomy in Copernicus and Kepler, and the last dreams of Alchemy died away in the ascending light of Chemistry in Valentine and the Helmonts, the first great *Anatomists* arose; and the science perfected itself till it received an intelligible and practical union with *Physiology* and the laws of life in the great discovery of our own *Harvey*; while, at the same time, under *Boyle* and his associates the more exact and extended knowledge of the mineral and vegetable world was brought into an efficient bearing on Practical Medicine, and the foundations of a scientific *Materia Medica* were laid. The union of science with common sense, of reason with observation and experience, found its representative in a *Sydenham*; and, immediately after, appeared, all at the same time, the three great masters of the profession, each the founder of a several school, *Boerhaave*, *Hoffmann*, and *Stahl*: and in these it may be truly said, that the three great dimensions of medical

science, as having man for its object, might be delineated. While the great mind of Boerhaave was happily, though too exclusively, directed to the human body as under the general laws of bodies mechanical or chemical, so that the Iatrochemical School, with all its excellencies and all its defects, may be referred to him as the Founder, his no less illustrious contemporary, *Stahl* equally erred, but equally benefited science in the opposite extreme, in fixing the attention of medical physiologists on the influence of the will and mind, and by first demonstrating how large a portion, how important a part, of its operations were carried on without consciousness. But even his clear perception of this great truth led him into the error of confounding *will*, in its most general sense, as the ground and ultimate meaning of all *power*, with the mind of the individual; and hence he, as it were, personified both the power and the law by which it is carried on, identifying it with the *soul*, and thus partially relapsed into the *archæus*, *spiritus rector*, *anima formatrix*, and the like, of the Helmontian period. But, at the same time, and as intermediate between Boerhaave and Stahl, the celebrated Hoffman, with less geniality perhaps, but with a steadier judgment, laid hold of the great practical truth, that the body, to which medical science was to be applied

was a *living* body ; that the laws and susceptibility of *life* should be the main object of the physician's investigation ; and that the body, in all its deviations from the healthful state, is to be treated, neither, on the one hand, as an hydraulic machine, or the compound product of a laboratory in uninterrupted activity, nor yet, on the other hand, as a spirit or intelligence, on which medicines were to act as by magic spells and incantations. Still, however, in the systems of this illustrious triumvirate, we find all the three great constituents of the living man ; namely, first, the *material substance* in its connexion with the general laws of fluids and solids mechanical and chemical, or, if I may venture such an expression, the *corporeity* of man ; secondly, the *vital principle*, the characteristic life, by which the former are modified and controlled ; and, lastly, the *mind*, or *intelligent will*, consciously or unconsciously affecting and modifying both. It was reserved for our own great countryman *John Hunter*, almost in our own times, to lay the grounds of harmonizing the three, distinguishing the life, as the *principium vitæ*, from the functions exercised through the organization, and this vital principle, as necessarily in order, though by no possible separation in time, antecedent to the organization and its essential condition. But as is clearly implied, though perhaps obscurely

expressed, in the written works of this great man, he contemplated this *life* (as Newton had taught the mechanic philosophers to contemplate gravitation) not as a *thing*, or as a *spirit*, neither as a *subtle fluid*, nor an *intelligent person*; but as a *law*, impressing a specific character on powers, which under other laws are variously manifested in the inorganic world. But this was not all. Invaluable as this service was, and most happy as its effects were in the especial improvement and increased light, power, and courage of *Surgery*,—he placed the seal on his labours by including the human anatomy in that science of *Comparative* or *Universal Anatomy*, which commences with the first rudest forms of organic individuation. He thus supplied both the torch and the materials for his great successors on the continent, who found in this universal anatomy the grounds and occasions of a new science still in infancy, but in thriving infancy—the science of *Comparative Physiology*; and with it the well-grounded, and not unconfirmed hope of making every part of the organized creation give intelligibility to every other part, and all to the crown, consummation and epitome of all, the *Human Frame*. Had John Hunter performed no other service than that of thus bringing the whole art of healing, medical and chirurgical, into an immediate connexion with the speculative

sciences of nature, which, without reference to their immediate practical application, and independent of all professional views, are cultivated by the first and noblest minds for their own worth;—if John Hunter had done no more than connect the medical profession with the all-ennobling science by a bond of alliance, which never without ignominy to the profession, and forfeiture of its best and most legitimate claim to that name, can henceforward be dissolved or broken, —he would rightfully take his place among the most eminent benefactors of mankind, and have left a name which every naturalist must hear with reverence, and which no physician or surgeon could pronounce without gratitude and filial awe.

And now permit me to compress into a few paragraphs the sum of what I have attempted to display. I have given, or it has been my aim to give, a fixed meaning to the term *Science*, as comprising all the knowledges *à priori* from the reason itself, whether by *ideas*; or by the *intuitions of the pure sense*; or, lastly, by reflection on the *constitutive laws and forms of the understanding*, as common to all understandings. By the side of Science, and under its auspices, and, as it were, prefigured by it, we have found knowledge by *observation*, perfecting itself by a continued enlargement and increased exactness of that world of sight to which

science is to supply the insight,—of that chaos and riddle of the senses which science is to reduce into intelligible order for the intelligence. In the union of the two,—of pure science and scientific observation,—we have seen also that the *applied real sciences* are the offspring, of which Astronomy may be justly stated as the first-born and of maturest growth. And, further, the application of science, whether of the speculative or applied sciences, to the needs and commodities of the social state in any particular direction, constitutes a *profession*; that is, a learned class among whom, as far as the boundaries of existing knowledge extend, *skill* is grounded on or accompanied by *insight*. It is not an entire elevation above empirical practice that constitutes the empiric; for both the imperfections and the difficulties of an art, which has so complicated and, at the same time, so endlessly variable and fugitive a subject as the human body in health and in disease, will long continue to impose this necessity on the wisest and most profound of the profession; but it is the absence of science, or the contemptuous neglect or disclaiming of the same; it is the elevation of a blind and traditional empiricism above Science, and as superseding all connexion therewith, that defines the empiric, and in all reason degrades him to the carrier-on of a trade, a business, or at best an equivocal art. I likewise called your attention to the unity of

all science, to the derivation of the particular sciences from the universal sciences as from the common trunk, of which the pure reason is the hidden root, and the necessary continued inhesion, or immanence of the branches in the trunk, if the latter are to live and grow.

In directing your attention to the beautiful, the evidently providential, order, in which the three great professions successively and severally evolved themselves out of their several sciences, I find occasion to make a distinction apparently subtle, but, in fact, of great historical interest,—namely, that between a *profession living in the science*, and the *science continuing to live in the profession*. Now that the *profession should live in the science*, is essential and indispensable to the very being of a profession. It is the very ingredient separated from which the compound would cease to be, otherwise than by a courteous misnomer, a *profession*, and would fall abroad into an art or trade. But, that the *science should continue to live in the profession*, there is not only no such necessity,—of this not only both the nature of the sciences and the nature of the human mind almost preclude the possibility,—but in the very cessation of this life of growth we may find a mark and proof of the unity of all sciences in SCIENCE itself, as the vivifying scientific principle. The living spirit of the science, I say, whichever

that science may be, has successively lived in each of the three great professions, but in one only at the same time ; but during this period, the profession in which it lives and acts will necessarily display the essential universality of all science, by comprehending in itself, though under its own form, the two other professions.

With regard to the science of *Jurisprudence*, and the *profession of the Law*, we have seen this exemplified in the history of Roman jurisprudence, from Numa, or the Twelve Tables, to Trajan, or whatever the period may be which our philosophic lawyers may have agreed on as the time when the mighty and massive edifice received its last addition in the spirit and character of Science. But even an ordinary acquaintance with the historians of Rome will supply abundant illustrations of the position of the all-comprehensiveness of the science dominant. Whatever in Theology could be, or was permitted to be, outward, was subordinated to the final cause of the law, shaped and modified according to its special purposes, and enjoined and made obligatory, not as religion, not as metaphysic truth, not as moral goodness or duty, but as *Law*. And if the medical profession (as far as the imperfect, the almost embryo, state of physiological science permitted the possibility of such a connexion with it as could have sufficed

to create a profession, or a body of men confederated under laws predetermined by a special science and a common final cause)—if the *medical* profession appear less conspicuous in the form of Roman law (of frequent occurrence it confessedly is), the cause is to be found in the servile condition of the medical practitioners, physicians or surgeons, under the Roman empire ; even as, conversely, the main cause of this servility is to be found in the dim and lax connexion of the practice of medicine with any science properly so called, or in the non-existence of its own special science in the requisite state of growth with which alone it could be connected so as to constitute a several profession. Fearfully rapid as the progress of degeneracy was from Trajan or the Antonines to the age of Justinian, there must have been a period during which the scientific study of Law flourished among its professors, though the science itself had ceased to receive growth or access ;—the profession still lived in the science, and so long it remained honoured, liberal, nobilitating. But historians, fabulists and rhetoricians of the Lower Empire sufficiently assure us to how wide and ruinous an extent forms stripped of their import, and the ever - accumulating “*Sic volo s*” of capricious despots, substituted a jungle of fraud for the fair planted inclosures of self-understanding law ;

and how, with equal rapidity, the profession sank into a trade, the very name of which, through a long and mournful series of generations, became the butt of a vulgar prejudice, inconceivable but from the profession itself having fallen into the especial disesteem of mankind at large. And such, indeed, must sooner or later be the fate of every fall from a higher into a lower rank, where the degradation has been effected by the apostasy of the fallen themselves from the essential characters and duties of that rank. It is not only *true* of the professions, but of the *professions* it is *especially* true. Language, in all the several dialects of the civilized world, supplies few terms so expressive of contempt and aversion as those which are meant to designate the lawyer, the clergyman, the physician, degraded into the *pettifogger*, the *quack*, and (I must borrow from a kindred language a correspondent word for the remaining profession, which I am glad my own language does not supply) the “*pfaff*,” or tricking, trading priest.

It is not necessary that I should pursue the illustration through the science and correspondent profession that succeeded to that of Law. It is a matter of history known to all, that from the establishment of a central power in the Papacy, —assuredly in its time the germ of the unity and the only efficient principle of cohesion for the

working and seething polyarchy of the feudal states that now form Christendom,—it is familiar history that the church contained in itself all the sciences most often, though not always, accommodated to its own characteristic science (Metaphysics, Ethics, and Logic in the type of Theology), but immitigably subordinated to its purposes. The institution of the chair of Canon law in the University of Bologna, the zealous support of the Civil, or Roman law, against the local Teutonic, or Celtic, in the new established kingdoms, and the final (almost complete) occultation of the Christian doctrines and Christian morals from Christian sources, in canons scholastic and ecclesiastic, sufficiently tell one side of the story—the darker one. But, as I have before remarked, it would be most ungrateful to forget the brighter side ; that from Bede, from Scotus Erigena, Berengarius, and Hugo de San Vittore, to the schoolmen ; from Lombard and Hales to Wickliffe, to Occam, and finally to Luther and Melancthon ; the clergy, corrupt as they may have been, were the salt of the earth, were the appointed racers who from generation to generation conveyed the unextinguished lamp. And when we take the host of great men, who rose at the first blast of the trumpet of the Augustine monk, we cannot refuse our admiration to a soil capable of bearing such a forest of towering

trees,—so many and so vast cedars of Paradise. Not only did the profession live in the correspondent sciences, as under the auspicious influences of our not-yet-subverted institutions, thank Heaven! it still continues to do; but to the dynasty of the Tudors the science lived in the profession—so at least men, as more capable than I can be of forming, so better entitled to deliver, an opinion on the subject, have asserted—it would be impossible to demonstrate a single step in the march of the metaphysical, ethical, and logical sciences, or of theology as a science, contradistinguished from biblical criticism and the study of the Scriptures, beyond those sacred vestiges, the last footmarks of our great first reformers.

Last of all, we related the auspices and enumerated the circumstances under which, together or immediately consequent on the Reformation, *Physical* and *Physiological Science*—with the *pure Mathematics* as its legislative or architectonic principle, and with *scientific experience*, now as registered *observation*, and now as preconcerted *experiment*, for its material source — arose, grew, thrived and flourished; with it a *study of Medicine*, purified from magical, astrological and pseudo-spiritual influences on the one hand, and, on the other, raised above a mere empiricism by its new and increased bearings on *Physiological Science*; and with this, ascending *pari passu*, a

distinct *Medical Profession*, the continued advance of which in the universal estimation of civilized man, has been equably proportioned to the ever closer and closer connexion both of the profession with the science, and of the professors with the growth, progress, and expansion of the sciences. As medical professors, we live in the science of Physics and Physiology ; but, likewise, what a catalogue of illustrious men, alike eminent as naturalists and physicians, the Boerhaaves, Hoffmans, Stahls, Hallers of successive generations, are ready to acquit me of all boast, when I assert that, not only our profession lives in the science, but that the science lives and grows in our profession ; and where that is present, Science itself, the spirit of science as a vivifying principle cannot be absent. Though, perhaps, less favoured hitherto than our elder sisters by legislative patronage and national institutions, still the profession is manifestly evolving itself, and putting on a universal and national character, though in each department under its own form. Almost in our own times we have seen a new and distinct science—that of *Medical Jurisprudence*—arise, and still in the progress of forming itself. A science of *Medical Police* cannot much longer be withheld from the defences of civilized and commercial nations. And if the conditions already given remain, and those

yet wanting shall be supplied, under which we subsist and under which we may trust to advance, a science of *Medical Ethics* will not long be wanting. I cannot have before me, or present to the eye of my mind, the names and persons of the distinguished cultivators of medical science, whom with unfeigned humility, united with an honest pride, I am permitted to name my colleagues, without perceiving in each, in some the birth, but in all, the germ of a new department of medical science, a new arena of honourable effort for the medical profession. As surely as man, the epitome of the world's life, subsists in a living intercommunion with all the world, and is destined to act on it as his appointed subject and future vassal, by his will, his reason, and the might of social union; as surely as the same man, by his animal life, by his fancy and imagination, and by the appetites, passions, and affections, which arise out of the life, is destined to undergo the reaction of nature, and solicit her aidance;—so surely I infer the rise and growth of a *Medical Botany*, a *Medical Chemistry*, a *Medical Meteorology*, and not least, or of least hope, a *Medical Psychology*, and the connexion of the moral habits, the passions, and the affections, with health and disease, with prevention and with remedy—an ennobling hope, and, thank Heaven! in many points, a present view, as well

as a distant prospect, if *only the realizable conditions are not withheld!*

Of these conditions, the remaining time allotted to this address will confine me to the one most immediately suggested by the place in which I am addressing you; and in the absence of that condition, we shall, I fear, vainly hope for a compensation in any other, as an instrument for the realization of the blessings, the magnitude and dignity of which it has been the main object of this discourse to impress. It has been my aim to prove: 1. The vital connexion between each of the professions, and the several science or sciences specially corresponding thereto, so as to establish the balance between Sight and Insight, between individual skill and the general principles which predetermine its application, between the facts of an unprejudiced intelligent disciplined observation and scientific insight; or, at least, theoretic intelligibility. 2. The connexion of each several science in each profession with the universal sciences, with Science itself, and the habit of sciential thought in the unity of its spirit and essence. 3. As the result of both the former, the beneficent connexion, the acknowledged fraternity of all the professions with each other, deriving their best honours from the same parentage, and by every motive of honourable interest and of public duty impelled and bound

to the respect, protection and furtherance of each other. I have in view that bond of an avowed and daylight freemasonry, which must, of necessity, arise out of an early-formed and habitually fostered conviction of the identity of the grounds on which the professions are all founded, of the ultimate end to which they are all directed.

To the three great and beneficent objects already stated and explained I have now then to add the fourth, *the connexion of all the professions with those National Institutions*, to which alone the name *University* can be legitimately applied, but which, when constructed as their final objects require, are such under whatever name. Change of time, of circumstances, the increasing number, wealth, demands and modifications of a nation, will and must exact a corresponding expansion and accommodation of these venerable institutes, these birth-places of the higher humanity: and the same or similar changes will probably dictate a well-considered and cautious, but yet not too tardy, increase of their number. Always, however, with the proviso, that as the professions, notwithstanding their severalty, are yet in their ground and essential constituents *one*, so the Universities, the nurseries of the professions, should, whatever their number may become, be likewise regardable as collectively *one*, under conditions of co-ordination as well as under those of subordi-

nation; so that even in the common use of terms it shall be indifferent whether they are spoken of in the singular or the plural,—whether we say the National University or the National Universities. I speak of no mere possibility, no *pium desiderium*, no fair but unrealized idea. To acquit me of this charge, I need only mention the names, Oxford and Cambridge: each with its characteristic differences, each most honourably marked by the characteristic preference of its *alumni* for their own *Alma Mater*, and still more honourably characterized by their mutual respect, hitherto, thank God! corresponded to by the answering respect of the whole community. And it is the consciousness of this which makes the members of both our ancient Universities feel themselves men of the same class, children of a common household, whenever the occasional and half-playful mode of comparison is lost in the sense of their common training.

If there be on earth a problem worthy the meditation of the noblest intellects, and to the solution of which every motive of philanthropy, patriotism, the love of science, and even the sense of moral beauty and ordonnance should center the intellects of the noblest, it is the requisite and practicable modification of such institutions according to their local positions and circumstances, and so as in all these varieties to preserve

sacred the grounds of their common nature, the conditions of their co-organization. In this, as in all other human concerns, we must prepare ourselves not to repine for the absence of advantages, admitted to be such where they are attainable, but which the place and circumstances of our particular institution preclude. Much less should we make the idle attempt to substitute a counterfeit semblance for the reality we are compelled to forego; but rather let us seek for compensation by other advantages, which our position and immediate objects permit and require, and which may in like manner be precluded from the sister institutions by their peculiar objects. Nor will this, I deem, be found hopeless; nor (to the degree in which human aims can be consummated) impracticable, if only the great common principle be held sacred; if each University shall be truly national, standing in a distinct relation to the needs of the social humanity in its permanent form, as a nation, and approving itself an efficient labourer in realizing the indispensable mean and *condition* of a true nationality—the cultivation, namely, of particular classes, who are everywhere to be the fosterers, guardians, and extenders of civilization in all. In this spirit it is that each University may be expected, occasionally, to enlarge its own possession by new inclosures, though as accessory

and as it were suburban; and it is in this respect the different Universities in the same realm may each, not only without injury, but to the advantage of all, be distinguished, and furnish to the students and their natural protectors wise and intelligible grounds of preference without any implied detraction. I will venture to illustrate my meaning by a direct application to the Institution, the interests of which must, of course, be nearest and most immediate to my own mind, and the minds of my present auditory.

I should act not only an unworthy part, but if it were intended to please or flatter the predilections of those who hear me, a most mistaken one, if I undervalued, nay, if I disguised my own high valuation of, the peculiar advantages—influencing the morals, manners, yea, the whole formation of the gentlemen of a country, which Oxford and Cambridge derive from the temporary domiciliation of their *alumni* within their venerable and magnificent halls and colleges, the beautiful relic of past ages freed from all the evils which had attached to it under the spiritual dynasty which for us has passed away, while it retains all the good, which the existing times either require or permit. Highly indeed do I venerate the collegiate life in its threefold aspect:—1st, as the honourable asylum of the veterans of literature and science, for whom the sciences and liberal knowledges,

historical and literary, their enlargement and conservation, form a sufficient sphere, abstracted from the duties of their immediate application and distribution: 2dly. The great majority, ever the same and always in flux, who may be considered as the lake formed by the influx of countless rills from all the great schools of the realm as their several springs, and successively poured forth again, and diversified in as many streams, that are to convey life and fertility throughout the realm: and, lastly, the intermediate class—the teachers and examples of the second; a few waiting to fill the places of the first class; the others preparing, and, by the beneficence of past times, enabled to wait, for individual spheres of professional duty appportionate to their talents, acquirements, and character. I know not that we can too highly estimate the advantages to the kingdom at large, the special advantages to the gentry, and whatever is of liberal name and act, from this provision for an intermediate state between the full-grown school-boy and the fully-independent man—a state during the most perilous period of human life, in which the individual remains *sub tutelâ*, yet no longer as a boy, but as a commencing man, influenced mainly by the principles and estimation of his equals; or if seniors, yet of the same class, influenced by the venerable characters and laws, the habits and

remembrances of the august building in which he himself dwells, and mildly coerced by a peculiar discipline, which even at the time he feels to be an honourable distinction, and which, he knows, will be hereafter considered by others as entitling him to a distinct rank in society. These, (and how many other advantages from the same source!) I distinctly apprehend, and can, with more perfect freedom from a suspicion of partiality than many of those now hearing me could do, declare that I never hear the names of our two great Universities mentioned without an increased pride in my country.

These advantages may be impracticable in a *Metropolitan Institution*, or unadvisable, or, lastly, incompatible with other advantages of equal moment and more urgent local demand, by which the former may be in part supplied and altogether compensated. Nevertheless much, and of incalculable value, may be retained; much may be done, even by the harmonious combination of the *preparing Schools* with the maturing University in one system, to induce the *alumni* of the Institute habitually to regard themselves as members of one body, brothers in the same household; to form among them a correspondent law of honour, of self-respect, and of respect for each other as fellow-collegiates,—with all that habit of despising the hollow, the tricky, the ostentatious,

the littleness which consists in the ambition of being great to little minds, and the low arts of levying a lucrative tax on ignorance and folly for the maintenance and worldly thriving of pretended knowledge;—in short, to form that sentiment, that habit of honour and gentlemanly feeling, in which the moral life of the individual breathes, as in its natural atmosphere, with that unconsciousness, the result and accompaniment of the *habit*, which gives the charm of unaffected manners and conduct.

Again; the compensating advantages, by which this Institution may rationally be expected to rise progressively into honour and public confidence, are great and evident, and at once correspond to the needs, and are proportionate to the facilities, of its location. Here, in an eminent degree, we may hope to find the common grounds of professional excellence gradually reduced to the most effective system, even because here the beginning and the end, the root, the stem, and the branches, are comprised in one view, and may be contemplated in relation to each other as means to means, and as a *complexus* of means to various ends, ideally reunited in the same ultimate end. It is possible, and should it prove actual, no subject of regret, that in the cultivation and progressive extension of the pure and more austere sciences, and in the sedulous research

of ancient learning, the elder universities, (that will ever I trust remain the principal outlets of the most important, because the most universal profession, because wanted at all times, in every place, and for all men, who are not wanting to themselves,)—will take the lead. But, on the other hand, *for the knowledges*, that stand in most immediate connexion with the spirit of the age, with the temporal and physical needs or enrichments of society ;—*for the practical application of these knowledges in all the sciences*, which have the forms and products of *organic* and *inorganic* nature as their material ;—*for the continued application and elaboration* of these for the wealth or well-being of the community as their object ; *in the professions* that have arisen, or may arise, out of them ; in which the *medical profession*, in all its different branches, must at all times fill the largest space, and occupy the most prominent situation ; the greater number of which have been, and will be, in a greater degree, included in the medical profession, and in which, from their very character as physicians or naturalists, medical professors will be found amongst the most eminent cultivators ;—*for all these* I am at a loss to determine which to declare the greater,—the peculiar facilities furnished for the realization of these advantages, and the extent to which the

power of participating in them may be augmented, in an institution appropriate to the needs, and commanding the resources of this great metropolis, or the necessity and public urgency of providing for that spirit of intellectual expansion which, in some form or other, must exist as a living energy for good and for evil throughout the whole empire — of providing for it in a form, and with accompaniments, that shall connect it with whatever is venerable in our native land; with whatever enables us, in each successive period, to speak of our Alfreds, Wickliffes, Cranmers, — our Bacons, Boyles, Sydenhams, Hunters, as beings that still belong to us, as parts of the life of the great organism which their genius had aided to evolve. So best, and so only, by the institution and protection of this and similar great seminaries of learning, in which is cultivated the science anterior to the sciences, as the sciences to the especial professions; so only and without any innovation, (at least without any of the turbulent and adventurous appearance of innovation) virtually, and in the unity of spirit, by the sense of a common derivation, by the fraternizing habits of a common training; will the members of all the liberal professions, thus acknowledging a common birth-place, tend once more to a re-union as a *national learned class*, every member and offset of which will be enabled

and disposed to regard the practitioner of another profession in the same district as a brother,—as a cooperator in a different direction to the same end, whose authority and whose influence, whenever rightly exerted, he is bound by duty, and prepared by impulse, to support and render effectual. It would be easy to shew the strong, the peculiar expediency, nay, moral necessity, of giving to the physical sciences, and the medical, as their correspondent profession, a high and important place in a Metropolitan University,—a university which may become the eye and heart of this great metropolis of the political and commercial world:—it would be easy to place this necessity in a still more striking light, could I do it without pain to my own, and offence to your feelings, by presenting in full view, and unfolding the effects and consequences of a contrary plan;—of an extensive, active, multiplying profession, detached from universal science, abandoned to an ever-increasing tendency to empiricism and empirical novelties, unsteadied by science; where a specious name of utility usurps exclusively the idea of abiding and fontal good; detached from all ancient institutions,—from all the hereditary loves, loyalties, and reverences, that have been the precious birthright of an *English gentleman*; arising like weeds, the growth of accident, singly or in patches, in the enclosures of individual

vanity or self-interest! But the picture would be too sombre, and at all events, if it is needful to contemplate it, I trust that it may be in other countries than our own, in which we are to look for the exemplification of professions divided from each other, having no common bond, and in a full detachment from the *Nation* and the *National Church*.

This College has risen under purer auspices ; and I have still faith enough in the English heart of my country to believe, that, under these auspices, and as long as its objects are *national*, in that best sense of the word *nation*, which respects not a particular generation,—not the people at one time existing, but the unity of the generations, the type of our inward humanity in the flux of our outward mortality,—it shall continue to expand, prosper, and perfect itself harmoniously, as by an organic life, in all its departments. And in this belief, I utter the name of KING'S COLLEGE ; and from my heart and soul exclaim—*Esto perpetua !*

THE END.

